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PORTSMOUTH AND THE FALL OF THE PURITAN REPUBLIC

D. Dymond, CBE, MA

When the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell died on 3 September 1658, he left behind him a bewildered and deeply divided England. Some men, it is true, knew exactly what they wanted; the royalists wanted the king back again: the parliamentarians wanted to restore the Long Parliament that Cromwell had dismissed in 1653: the army wanted to retain its identity and power: there were mystics like Sir Henry Vane and classical republicans like Milton. But there was no united voice and probably the silent majority only wanted a settled peace. All practical power was in the hands of the army, whose military authority was widely disliked. While Oliver lived, these divergent forces had been kept under control. 'He that was last', said a member of Richard Cromwell's ill-fated parliament, 'could sit in the saddle against all changes: but it may not be so now.' He was right. Without that formidable master, England plunged on like a riderless horse, moving fast, but without direction or goal.

These divisions affected the little community of Portsmouth as they affected every other part of England. But Portsmouth had some features that gave it a special character. It was a garrison town and naval port with dockyard. Hence there were many men of rank and title, many army and naval officers and dockyard officials among its honorary or resident burgesses. In 1659[1] the list included Monck, the earl of Denbigh, the earl of Northumberland, Lord Montjoy, Sir Henry Vane and Sir William Waller. Major Matthew Cadwell and Major Peter Murford represented the forces. The governor of the town was Colonel Nathaniel Whetham, who had fought on the parliamentarian side in the civil war, acted as governor of Portsmouth from 1649 to 1656 and entertained Monck there for a month in 1653. The dockyard too had its prominent burgesses. The mayor of Portsmouth in 1659–60 was John Tippetts, master shipwright, later to become an acquaintance of Samuel Pepys. Hugh Salesbury, Clerk of the Survey, had been mayor in 1657 and St. John Steventon, Clerk of the Cheque, was on the burgess list. And the leading citizens who were not themselves in the army, navy or dockyard generally earned their living by supplying the forces with beer and victuals and equipment of all kinds. In the days of Buckingham's expeditions a brewer and victualler named Henry Holt made his fortune and left substantial property to each of a large family of sons. These were helping to run the town in 1659 – Francis and John Holt were aldermen, and a younger John, Richard and Thomas (who was in Holy Orders) were all on the burgess list. Anthony Haberley was another brewer whose family had been prominent in Buckingham's time. William Haberley was mayor of Portsmouth in 1626 and again in 1630. The name of Anthony, however, despite his rich inheritance, does not appear on the roll of burgesses for 1659, for reasons that will be shown later. The Lardners were a noted old Portsmouth family of similar status, whose citizenship dated from at least the sixteenth century: in 1659 Richard Lardner was an alderman holding extensive wharves and storehouses on Point, and there were two John Lardners on the burgess list. Richard Ridge, the young chamberlain, was probably the grandson of that famous Elizabeth Ridge who presented a silver bowl to the town and made history by being admitted a burgess, though a woman. A burgess named Nicholas Peirson, a vigorous, progressive and peppery character of strong parliamentary views, was a wealthy shipowner engaged in the development of Point, where he held considerable property. A young brewer and mercer who was later to make his name in Portsmouth history had just appeared on the list of civic officers in the rather humble status of constable – Nicholas Hedger. These men represented the small oligarchy of well-to-do merchants which controlled the government of Portsmouth, and they will all appear as personages in the drama of 1659. With them was joined a far more notable figure – Josiah Child, a London merchant who came to Portsmouth in 1655 as victualler and deputy treasurer of the fleet and who was made alderman by unanimous consent in 1656 and mayor in 1658. 'My education hath been mostly that of a merchant', he wrote later, perhaps with proud modesty; but this unacademic education, together with the stimulus of the great political argument going on all round him, had made him a man of liberal views who believed in change and growth. He much approved the expanding economy and growing prosperity of England. Citizens of 'the middle sort of gentry', he said, had more plate, clothes and household goods than 'the best sort of gentry' sixty years ago, and where there used to be one coach there were now a hundred. Undoubtedly the personality and modernity of Child must have influenced his Portsmouth colleagues when the crisis came.

There are signs even before 1659 of political divisions between these men. The general consensus of the Portsmouth governing body was parliamentarian, and the Court Leet presentments of the period, with their strict sabbatarianism and hatred of gambling, show the strength of puritan feeling.[2] The vicar Benjamin Burgess was a presbyterian, 'a wise

man', as Calamy wrote, 'and very active, especially at the time of the Restoration'.[3] Men of contrary opinions were quietly excluded from citizenship. Anthony Haberley is a noted example; after 1650 his name ceases to appear on the burgess roll, and a later document makes it clear that he had been 'ejected out of this corporation'.[4] A ferment of violent feeling was going on beneath the surface, as depositions before the court sometimes show. Thus a pedlarwoman named Joan Jones 'somewhat overtaken in drink' refused to drink with soldiers of the garrison, calling them 'a company of Roundhead dogs', and averring, 'I'll see you hanged before I'll drink with such rogues, I hope to see the wrath of God poured on you within these two years'. The lodger of a certain widow named Margaret Pope told her that 'no honest man took up arms against the King', and that her husband (who had been in Parliament service) had not gone to heaven.[5]

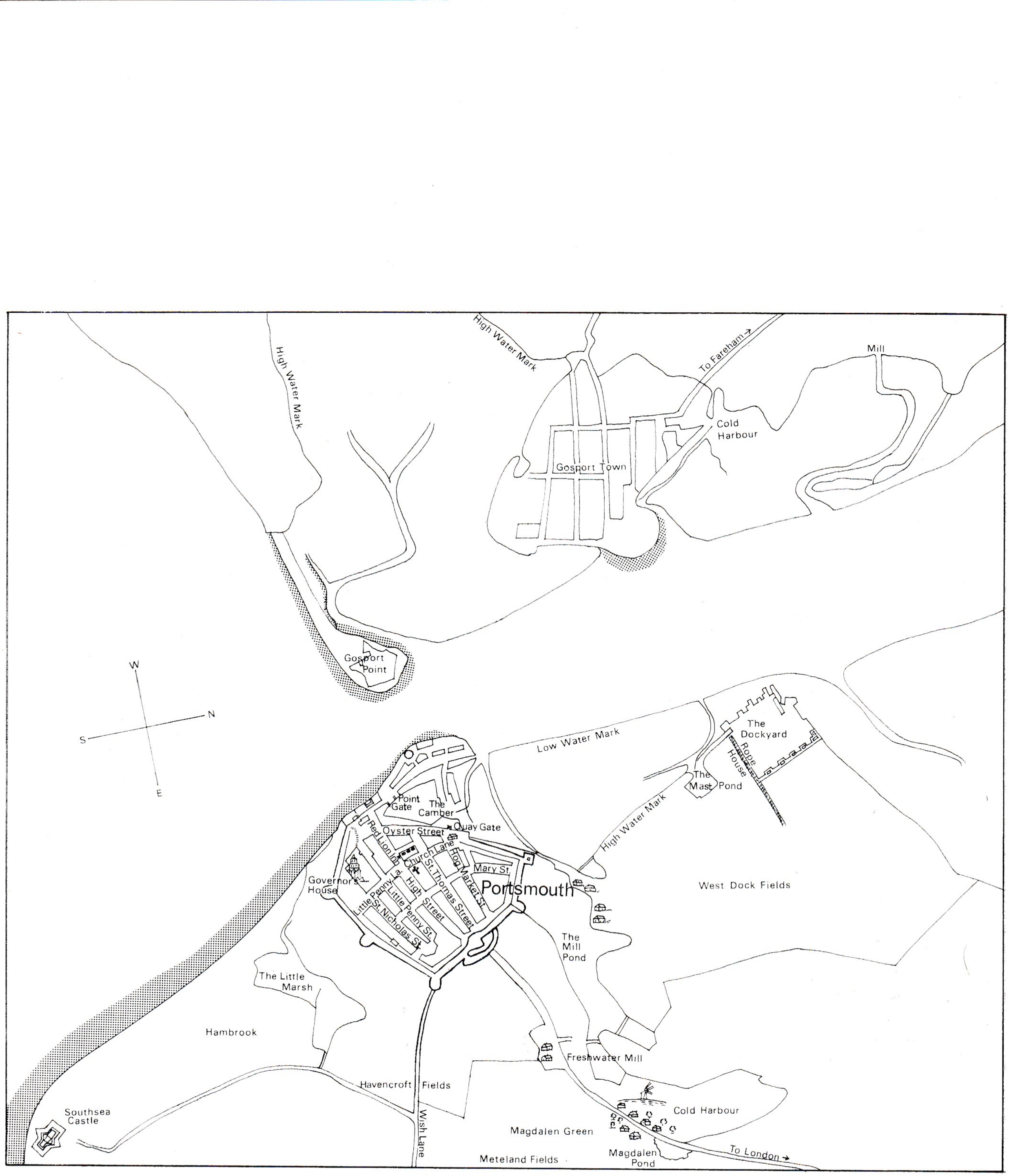
Such were the tides of opinion in Portsmouth when on 4 December 1659 Sir Arthur Hesilrige and a few others rode down Portsmouth High Street bent on rallying local support for a march on London to end the military dictatorship and restore the parliamentary republic.

What had led Sir Arthur to this point and what political ideas inspired his propaganda in Portsmouth?

He had been, as Clarendon records, 'brought up by Mr. Pym'. Throughout his youth he had been surrounded by puritan and parliamentary influences. His family were followers of Lord Grey of Groby, a noted hater of bishops, who contended with the royalist Hastings family for the dominance of Hesilrige's native county, Leicestershire. He had married the sister of Lord Brook, one of the earliest Independents, through whom he was linked with what has been called the 'Bedford Western Gentry' galaxy,[6] to which Oliver St. John and Pym also belonged. This had involved him in business partnerships with puritans, since he was a patentee of the Saybrook colonising company of which Pym and Hampden were members and which was linked to the famous Providence Company always associated with Pym's name. Throughout his twenties Hesilrige had felt what it was like to live under an arbitrary government whose views were completely different from his own. 'The Council Table bit like a serpent', he said in 1659, 'the Star Chamber like scorpions. Two or three gentlemen could not stir out for fear of being committed for a riot. Our souls and bodies were put on a rack by the Archbishop.'[7] The eleven years' 'tyranny' made Hesilrige anti-royalist. He never swerved in his conviction and this was the first item in the creed he brought to Portsmouth.

During the Short and Long Parliaments Hesilrige had been brought by Pym into the inner councils of the opposition. He shared with Hampden and others a common dining table at Pym's lodgings in the little court behind Westminster Hall, where the tactics of the party were regularly discussed.[8] Clarendon thought that Hesilrige was often put forward to sound the opinion of the House 'like the dove out of the ark to try what footing there was'. He sat on upwards of fifty special committees, varying in importance from the establishment of a free school near Alton to the impeachment of the bishops and the Militia Bill. Throughout this time, when the men and measures that made possible the eleven years' personal rule were all being swept away and the demands of Parliament to control the executive were steadily increasing, Hesilrige showed himself a bellicose, vigorous figure, sincere and rigid in his opinions, very aggressive and always on the lookout for opponents. Clarendon, who preferred a more sophisticated approach, called him 'an absurd bold man'. Another witness said he had 'more will than wit'. A third acquaintance spoke of 'the glorious hare-brained Hesilrige'. The climax came when Hesilrige, in company with Pym the supreme leader of the opposition, Hampden of the shipmoney case, Strode who had been imprisoned for opposition in earlier parliaments, and Holles who had read aloud the three resolutions in the angry final scene of the Parliament of 1629, was selected by Charles as one of those outstanding enemies whom he attempted to arrest in January 1642. His experiences during this epoch made Hesilrige a convinced parliamentarian, and this was the second item in his programme of 1659.

The 'absurd bold man' had a very successful war, raising a famous troop of horse 'so prodigiously armed that they were called by the other side the regiment of lobsters'. The lobsters did valiant work, especially when Hesilrige was second in command to his friend Sir William Waller in the west country and in the area round Portsmouth. He was a friend also of Cromwell whose views as a political Independent he fully shared; they were radicals, wanted an all-out war, supported religious toleration and were closely linked with the army and its fortunes. It is important to remember that when Hesilrige made his attempt in 1659 he was acting as a soldier as well as a statesman. It was to gather an army that he came to Portsmouth. Throughout the civil war Hesilrige had shown himself 'a most godly gallant gentleman, bold as a lion'.[9] He



A reconstructed map of Portsmouth in 1659. Drawn by S. G. Kerry.

had also taken advantage of the troubled times to make a fortune. When he was stationed in Newcastle after the first civil war, he had enriched himself during the sale of the bishop of Durham's lands by buying up manors to such an extent that a satire published in 1659 enquired 'whether Sir Arthur Hesilrige ought not to invert this sentence: The Zeal of Thy House hath eaten me up, with this, My Zeal hath eaten up Thy House'.[10] He ended the war with the reputation of being a stout soldier and a skilful profiteer.

After the war and the execution of Charles I, Hesilrige felt that the aims of the Parliamentarians had been achieved. England was now 'a Commonwealth and Free State' to be governed henceforth by the supreme authority of the nation, the representation of the people in Parliament. The form of government in which he utterly believed, and for which he had risked everything, was firmly established. Here Hesilrige had reached the limit of his political development. The radical social ideas of the new war generation, the Levellers and Diggers, made no appeal to him. He had been 'brought up by Mr. Pym', and he remained faithful to his training. Parliament was to him the sovereign institution. 'Yourself is now the greatest man in England', he declared once to the Speaker of Richard Cromwell's Parliament. 'I say, I look upon you as the greatest man in England, the Speaker of the Parliament of England'.[11] The great days of the Commons in 1641–2 inspired his future life, and in particular a sort of eternal mandate seemed to him and his colleagues to have descended upon the Long Parliament itself.

It was all the more shocking to Hesilrige when Oliver Cromwell, once his ally, forcibly dissolved the Rump which he believed to have turned into an obsolete and self-seeking body, and, after a series of experiments, established the Protectorate as the only means of regaining political stability. In acting thus Cromwell was in his own eyes simply 'a good constable set to keep the peace of the parish'. But in Hesilrige's eyes he was a traitor to the good old cause. Government by a Single Person was exactly what Hesilrige had fought against, and the fact that the Single Person was now called Protector instead of King and based his authority on military instead of hereditary right did not meet his objections. He therefore remained hostile to the Protectorate throughout its existence, and opposition to the rule of a Single Person was the third item in his propaganda at Portsmouth. He had become a dedicated republican.

When Richard Cromwell fell from power in the spring of 1659, the political situation in England stood thus: the army held power, as had been the case ever since the Protectorate began, but its rule had no lega basis and was very unpopular: to quote a ballad of that year,

> 'Since the sword hath power,
> Alas, who can deny it,
> The sword is ours, 'tis in our powers
> To keep you all in quiet'.

Further, the chief officers—Fleetwood, Disbrowe and others known as the Wallingford House group—were not really in command of the rank and file of the soldiery, where a ferment of political argument was in progress. The republican group, headed by Hesilrige, Sir Henry Vane and Edmund Ludlow, saw in this divisiveness their great opportunity to re-establish the Commonwealth. The royalists, who had set up a secret council called the 'Sealed Knot' to organise armed intervention at the right moment, were eagerly waiting for that moment and did not think it was far away. Numerous private persons were urging their own solutions to the problem of England's future, and among them Milton expressed (and gilded) Hesilrige's creed in his 'Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth'. 'What madness is it', he thundered, 'for them who might manage nobly their own affairs themselves sluggishly and weakly to devolve all on a Single Person . . . more like Boys under Age than men.' Meanwhile, petitions from both soldiers and civilians, less splendidly worded than Milton's but bearing the same import, suggested that the only escape from the present chaos was to recall the Rump, the sole legally constituted authority left in England. Uncertain of themselves and seeing no alternative, an army deputation under Lambert met Vane, Hesilrige and Ludlow to discuss the terms of such a recall: and on 6 May 1659 the Rump re-entered the House of Commons.

There followed inevitably a clash of opinion. The Rump was in control constitutionally: the army was in control actually. The Rump had legal authority: the army had military power. If the Rump ordained something, that ordinance was legally binding. But what if the soldiers refused to obey it? Who was to make them? The republicans now began to feel that they had a cause as dear to them even as the sovereignty of Parliament—namely, the control of the sword by the civil power. They urged this with conviction, without cessation and without tact. For Hesilrige and his fellows were not tactful men. Hesilrige had not mellowed with the years. Ludlow said he had a disobliging carriage and a sour, morose temper: and

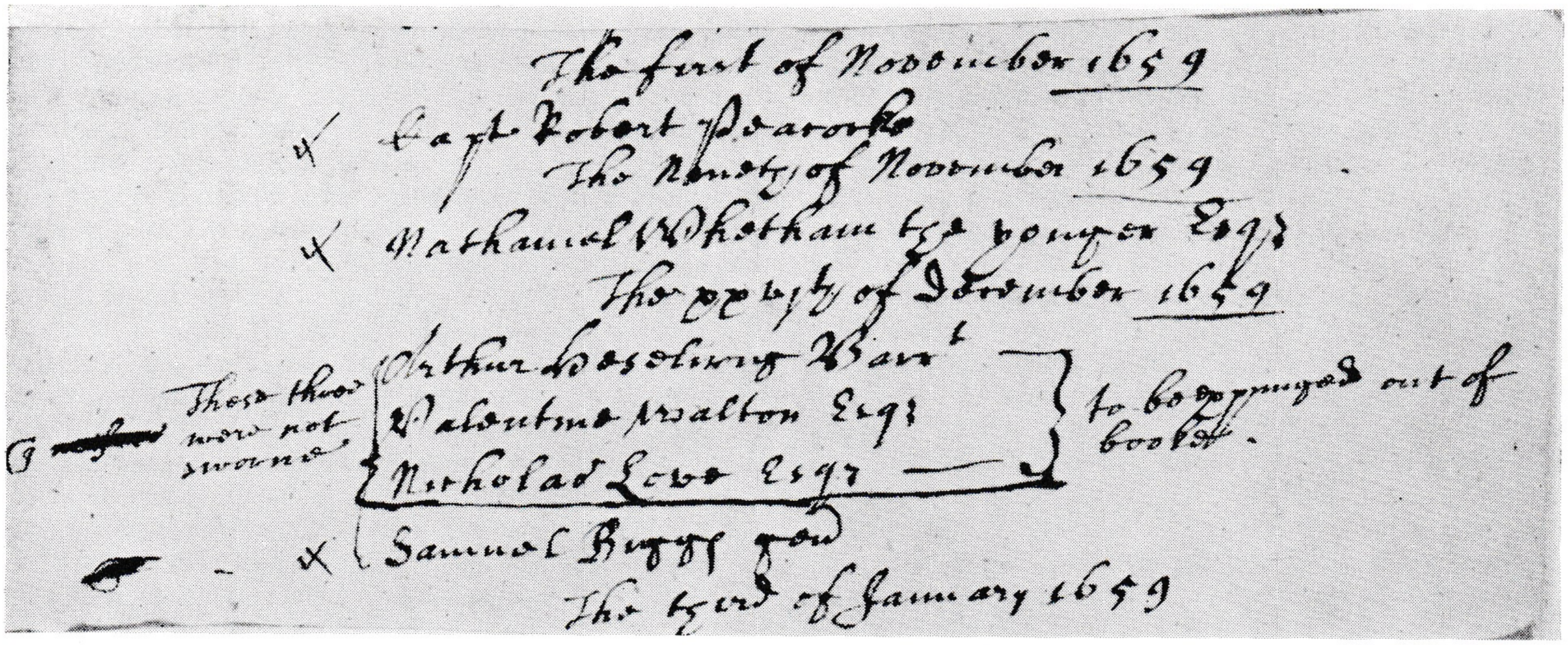
the younger men found it annoying to be brushed aside because they had been schoolboys when the great events of the forties took place. To many observers in the army and out of it Hesilrige and his friends appeared narrow and selfish. They saw themselves as champions of a free Commonwealth, but to others they looked uncommonly like a small clique determined to stay in office. A satire in the *Publick Intelligencer* announced that the Rump ordained no man should interfere with their sitting until the Day of Judgment, 'and we do furthermore enact that the Day of Judgment is abolished and straitly forbid'. It was for this very spirit that Cromwell had expelled the Rump six years before. Now they showed that they had learned nothing. They proceeded to scrutinise the lists of army officers, excluding all whom they considered unsound. Among others Colonel Nathaniel Whetham, governor of the garrison of Portsmouth, Southsea Castle and the Isle of Portsea, sent up his list.[12] It included Major Peter Murford, deputy governor, Mr. Thomas Brague, chaplain, Mr. David Lucas, master gunner, Mr. Anthony Stephen, surgeon, and Captain Thomas Newberry, storekeeper. All these were Portsmouth burgesses except David Lucas, and he was brother and partner of a burgess named Francis Lucas, a puritan and a substantial shipbuilder and merchant. The army deeply resented Parliament's attitude. Lambert told Hesilrige angrily that the army was being held at mercy. 'You are', said Hesilrige, 'only at the mercy of Parliament who are your good friends'. 'I know not why they should not be at our mercy as well as we at theirs', retorted Lambert.[13] Throughout the spring and summer of 1659 fear of a royalist rising held these opposing forces together: but the rising proved to be an abortive, trivial affair, easily crushed by Lambert: and there was no common danger left to unite the officers with the parliamentarians.

The crisis was not long in coming. Angered by the spirit of autonomy in the army as expressed in a series of petitions and letters, parliament took the decisive step of cashiering nine leading officers, of whom Lambert was one. His reaction might have been guessed. He called out the army. All the roads round parliament were blocked and the guards overwhelmed by a show of force combined with persuasion. As the Commons' Journal briefly reported, 'This day (13 October 1659) the late principal officers of the army whose commissions were vacated drew up forces in and about Westminster, obstructed all passages both by land and water, stopped the Speaker in his way and placed and continued guards upon and about the doors of the Parliament House: and so interrupted members from coming to the House'.[14] Hesilrige's parliament had ceased to be. For the second time within a decade military power had wrenched the sceptre from civil power. It was at this point that Hesilrige began the series of actions that brought him down to the Red Lion Inn in Portsmouth on 4 December.

He was determined to bring parliament home again. But it was impossible to base his attempt on London because of the strength of the army and the Wallingford House group there. Consulting with his allies Colonel Morley, Colonel Valentine Walton and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, he found that the name of Portsmouth was in everybody's mind. Whetham had recently been returned to his old command by the Parliament for the very reason that they distrusted Colonel Norton as governor,[15] and on his arrival had been able to report that the garrison was in good order and that the officers were satisfied and even jubilant that 'God has returned to us' the government of the Rump. Whetham was also a friend of Monck, who commanded the army in Scotland and had declared for the Parliament against Lambert and the Wallingford House group. Portsmouth was a strong place with a tradition of parliamentarianism, and there were many neighbouring gentry who might rally to the good old cause. Above all, Hesilrige and his friends had reason to know that Admiral Lawson and his fleet were prepared to come to their aid. With the command of the sea secure they need not fear the land siege which Wallingford House would undoubtedly launch against them. Thus, imitating the action of Charles I when he went into the provinces and raised his standard after he had made London too hot to hold him, Hesilrige determined to make his centre at Portsmouth and gather an army to bring him back to London.

Hesilrige, Walton and Morley reached Portsmouth at four o'clock on that December afternoon and established themselves at the Red Lion (which Pepys was later to condemn as a thoroughly bad inn).[16] Almost immediately they were gladdened by the sight of Whetham. 'Indeed he is a very noble true-spirited Englishman', wrote Hesilrige warmly. It was agreed that the town and garrison should be secured: such officers as dissented—Captains Peacock (recently admitted as a burgess), Brown and Hopgood—were seized and imprisoned. The military coup was over. Meanwhile the civic authorities must have been seriously discussing what line they should take in the crisis so suddenly thrust upon them. They had a back-

Extract from Portsmouth Election Book showing the admission of Hesilrige as burgess, with the later cancellation, 26 Dec. 1659.


The first of November 1659
Capt Robert Peacocke
The Ninth of November 1659
Nathaniel Whetham the younger Esq
The Eleventh of December 1659
Those three were not sworne
Arthur Hesilrige Bart
Valentine Walton Esq
Nicholas Love Esq
to be sworne out of booke.
Samuel Brown
The 23rd of January 1659

ground of loyalty to Parliament, and as the borough government had always maintained its independence of any army interference they were less likely than any other town to sympathise with military rule. They decided to back Hesilrige. On the morning of 5 December, therefore, the mayor, John Tippetts, accompanied by his fellow justices of the peace, Josiah Child, Francis Holt and Richard Lardner, waited on the party at the Red Lion. They were probably supported by their new vicar, Benjamin Burgess, a young presbyterian minister who had accepted the living in 1657 and been admitted to the burgess body. Hesilrige met the borough representatives with a persuasive and moderate bearing. He had no desire to renew civil war, he assured them: all he wished was to achieve the right understanding and unity so much desired by all good men: Monck with his forces was certain to defend Parliament and he would negotiate a settlement with Wallingford House. Tippetts and the rest may not have been too sure of these peaceful intentions, for they had witnessed the seizure of the officers and knew that Hesilrige was collecting troops. But some of them were sincere followers of the good old cause, and the rest were probably moved by joint dislike of military rule and fear of anarchy. At any rate, whether they acted from principle or expediency, their decision was clear. They answered, reported Hesilrige, 'that they would afford us all the assistance they could, and stand by us in these our intentions'.

It was now essential for Hesilrige to establish himself strongly in the borough. A declaration was drawn up and posted in the marketplace reaffirming the peaceful aims he had described to the magistrates and calling on the citizens 'to restore Parliament to their former freedom, being the people's indubitable and undoubted birthright'. Many townsmen approved, but others dissented, declaring their intention to stand by the army—there is no mention of anyone declaring for the King—and for the moment the population was so much divided that the position of the Red Lion group was precarious. Hesilrige could not afford this. Six townsmen, doubtless those who had been loudest in their opposition or were indicated by the magistrates as dangerous men, were seized and shared the fate of Peacock, Brown and Hopgood. They did not prove very co-operative prisoners. One of them, John Jennings, was Clerk of the Survey in the dockyard, and when Hesilrige filled his place with a certain Jeffery Keeke, Keeke found all the records missing. He complained piteously that he was unable to give any of the required information about stores and repairs; but Jennings, when tackled, simply replied that on his imprisonment his wife had packed up all his papers and deposited them with a friend.[17] These recriminations, however, were in the future, and meanwhile the town was safely ranked on Hesilrige's side. To seal the compact it was decided by the borough to offer burgess status to their distinguished guests, Sir Arthur Hesilrige, Nicholas Love (one of the regicides) and Valentine Walton, whose names may be seen in the

Portsmouth Election Book on 21 December 1659.[18] Portsmouth had thrown in its lot with the Rump and is entitled (to quote a modern historian) 'to full credit for being the first town in southern England to cast off the military yoke'.[19]

It must have been clear to both Hesilrige and the Portsmouth authorities that the army would not wait passively while the parliamentary movement gathered strength. Fleetwood would certainly try to destroy the expedition at its starting point. Hence preparations for defence were at once put in hand, both by land and sea. Ten sail of war lying in the harbour either came over to Hesilrige or were seized by his allies, and Portsdown fort was reinforced with four more pieces of artillery and a garrison. Some of the country gentry began to ride into Portsmouth with their troops, as Hesilrige had hoped. Though Colonel Richard Norton of Southwick, after an interview with Hesilrige, refused to join him and departed, his neighbour Mr. Wallop, a well-known Hampshire gentleman and a Portsmouth burgess, arrived with a body of fifty horse gathered from his tenantry. It was reported that Major Cooke had raised a troop in Wiltshire and was approaching Portsmouth, while Hurst Castle and the Isle of Wight had declared for Parliament. Hesilrige wrote with confident hope, 'This place is so well fortified and provided that we shall be able to preserve it against all the forces and more that they can make: nor do we fear any plots or conspiracies to betray it. We are all well, and I praise God unanimous, and the townsmen very cheerful and resolute to go through with us and to bear part of the duty, hoping by their cordial concurrence with us to encourage the rest of the considerable places of the nation to do the like. For our own parts we are resolved to assert our cause and have therefore adventured all, *jacta et alea*, and we trust the fortunes of the war will answer our ends, as it hath never yet failed the justice of our arms'. Hesilrige felt so confident that he wrote to the Lord Mayor of London suggesting that if Parliament would not be safe in Westminster the Speaker might be well advised to remove to Portsmouth 'where they may sit with honour and safety'. Colonel Morley at the same time was writing to other towns urging them to follow Portsmouth's example.

The Committee of Safety which the army had set up as a temporary government now despatched a force to blockade Portsmouth and prevent supplies or further bodies of recruits from reaching her. M. de Bordeaux, the French ambassador, reported to Mazarin that eight companies had left London, encouraged by the hope that the pro-army members of the garrison might be able to open the gates to them.[20] Disbrowe was in general charge of the operation. While his regiment of horse and Colonel Hewson's foot marched from London, Major Matthew Cadman (a Portsmouth burgess, it may be remembered) at Petersfield moved to effect a junction with forces advancing from Fareham and prevent all access to Portsea Island, lest 'that place should infect the country'. Portsmouth must uneasily have been aware that her land frontiers were alive with soldiers. A party of horse came as near as Gosport and had a look at the town, but finally wheeled off and departed.

Hesilrige's salvation lay in the fact that not nearly all the rank and file of the soldiery supported the Council of Officers and the Wallingford House group. The soldiers by this time felt they were a political estate in their own right, and before fighting a battle they had formed the habit (according to Ludlow) of reflecting whether the differences between the parties were in their opinion considerable enough to make it worth while. In this case they felt 'little disposed' to attack Portsmouth, and apparently their commanding officer Colonel Rich agreed with them. He entered into negotiations with the forces holding Portsmouth. It was becoming increasingly clear that large sections of the army did not intend to fight Parliament. After a parley of not very great length came the climax which changed the whole face of affairs in the south of England. The soldiers decided to join Hesilrige. The gates of Portsmouth were opened and 'Colonel Rich, with the forces that had hitherto lain before the town as enemies, marched in and joined themselves to the Parliament's Generals'.[21] Other troops followed them as the news got about. To the Parliamentarians this was yet another proof that God's blessing was upon their cause. The arbitrament of war had always been held by them to reveal the divine will. Now God had given victory even before battle was joined. A letter from 'a very worthy person in Portsmouth to his friend in London' described with exultation 'how the Lord hath wonderfully appeared with us in this business at Portsmouth. This morning five troops of horse and five entire companies of foot revolted from the Wallingford party to the interest of the Commonwealth: and having good intelligence among them it pleased God the whole company came in, some few officers only excepted: so that the siege is raised and the town at liberty without a drop of blood. The garrison is exceedingly strong, and your friends here in great heart and great hopes (by the blessing of God) to redeem the public liberty. Sir Arthur Hesilrige and Colonel Morley have behaved themselves very

gallantly'. One estimate of Hesilrige's forces now gave the figure of three thousand horse and foot.[22]

Meanwhile, news of the Portsmouth declaration had gone all over England and even Europe. Bordeaux, who kept Mazarin well in touch with the shifting scene, reported that the Parliamentarians were masters of Portsmouth and hoped that the general confusion would force the Council of Officers to recall them: there were rumours that Hull and Plymouth were going the same way, and fears were entertained for the Isle of Wight. Meanwhile, London itself, where the apprentices were rioting for a free Parliament, was in utter confusion. Whitelocke recorded that 'most of the soldiery about town declared for the Parliament's re-sitting'. The universal unrest, the fear of a chaotic, anarchic interregnum, was too much for the wavering, indecisive Fleetwood, whom his terrifying father-in-law Oliver Cromwell had long ago pronounced to be a milksop. The Wallingford House group was broken, not by military necessity, but by its own incapacity to control events. The only alternative to the return of Parliament was the return of the King and their own ruin. When the news arrived that the forces despatched to Portsmouth had changed sides, the Council of Officers accepted fate and for the second time recalled the Rump. 'This morning', wrote a royalist correspondent to Hyde, 'an invitation was sent to Hesilrige and Morley to come up (to London) that they and the rest of their members may sit again, and troops marched to attend them'.[23]

Thus Hesilrige, who had won his battle without fighting, appeared to be on his way to supreme power. His march on London, gathering forces as he went, was no longer a military operation: it was a triumphal progress. By 26 December the Rump was sitting again —still in its diminished form, however, having refused once again to admit the members excluded by Pride's purge—and on 29 December Whitelocke sourly watched the entrance into the House of the man who believed he was opening a new chapter in history. He came fresh from the march, not having waited even to change his clothes. 'Sir Arthur Hesilrige, Walton and Morley came into the House in their riding habits, and Hesilrige was very jocund and high'.[24] The picture is a tragic one to those who know the end of the story: for on that glorious twenty-ninth of December when Hesilrige was so jocund and high, he had in fact only months to live and he was to die in captivity. But for the moment the world was his. The House formally offered thanks to him and his allies for their good service in Portsmouth. Benjamin Burgess was brought up to London to preach before Parliament in the commemorative service, where he acquitted himself admirably. In a declaration of 19 January 1660 the new constitution was defined exactly in Hesilrige's terms—'a Commonwealth or Free State without a King, Single Person or House of Lords . . . governed by representatives in Parliament chosen by (the people) themselves, in whom alone the supreme authority of the nation doth reside', who would enlist an army 'wholly subject and obedient to the civil authority'. When Whitelocke waited on Hesilrige at his lodging in Whitehall, he found him very stiff and reserved and very abusive about the doings of the Committee of Safety. He did not think he need trouble to conciliate anybody.

All this time there was a powerful figure in the background whose part in the drama was as yet undisclosed. Monck in Scotland commanded a disciplined army which he had recently purged of dissidents and which was strong enough to play a decisive role in events. When the Rump was expelled by Lambert on 13 October, Monck had declared in favour of Parliament and moved his troops down to Coldstream to watch and wait. He had heard of events in Portsmouth from Hesilrige, who claimed him as an ally. On 1 January 1660 he began the long march towards London through snow so deep that his men 'never trod on plain earth' all the way from Edinburgh. Lambert's forces were despatched to meet him, but he dared not go into action 'for fear of the mutinies of his soldiers'. Throughout this march, though Monck definitely rejected the Wallingford House group, he kept silence about his future allegiance, 'covering himself with clouds and darkness' and allowing the delegates of the Rump who met him at Leicester to make all the speeches, while he contented himself (as his chaplain reported) with 'a nod, a frown or a rubbing of his forehead if the speech were long'. Everyone conjectured about Monck's intentions. His old friend Colonel Whetham hoped that he meant to support Parliament, but that, if he intended to establish a Single Person, at least it should be himself and not the King. Hesilrige was convinced that he came to support Parliament. Whitelocke, more perspicacious, commented that 'Monck would easily delude Hesilrige'. With these mixed feelings, London awaited Monck's arrival: did he come as the loyal servant of the Rump or as its master?

On 3 February Monck made a splendid entry into London, riding gallantly mounted at the head of his troops, 'which are reputed as good as any in the world, trained up under an excellent discipline, and they discovered it both in their countenances and their

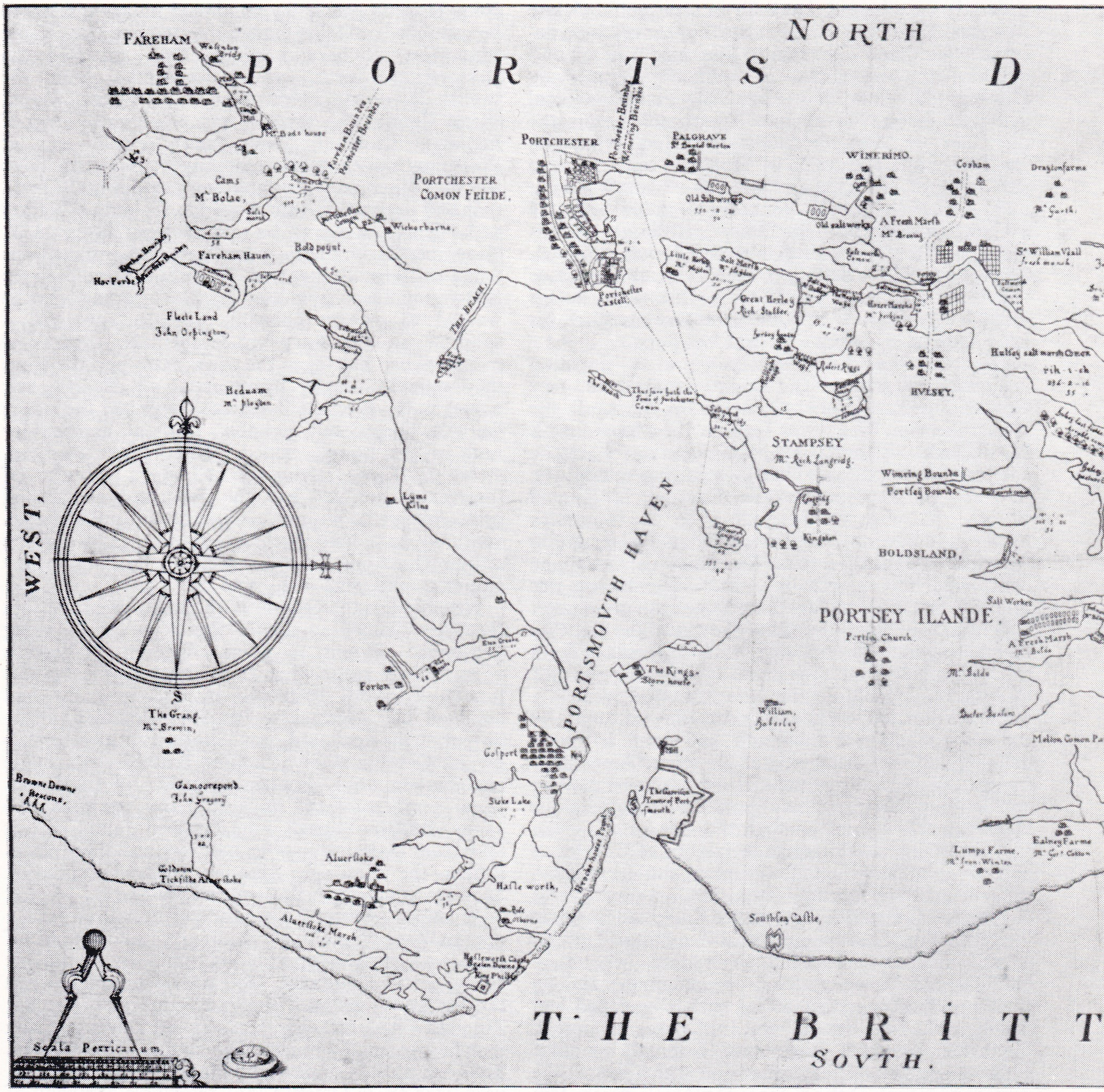
order'. It was obvious that such an army could dictate its terms. True, Monck did at first appear ready to co-operate with Hesilrige: but the blinkered outlook and overbearing assumption of authority shown by Hesilrige as he 'drove on furiously' in his political activities, soon provoked a crisis and began the disclosure of Monck's real views. 'Here began the great turn, and the design of Monck to take place, to the regret of Hesilrige and the rest',[25] wrote Whitelocke. When Monck insisted on admitting the excluded members to Parliament, Hesilrige lost his majority. He found himself elbowed out, opposed, finally ignored. A dejection seized him as intense as the *hubris* of the last few months. One visitor to his lodging found him 'in a most melancholy posture, his head sunk in his hands'. He had lost hope.

Events, indeed, moved rapidly in a direction against all his wishes. The Rump dissolved, the new Convention Parliament came in: on 31 April the Declaration of Breda was read in the House: on 8 May Charles was proclaimed King: and on 29 May he entered London surrounded by rejoicing multitudes. 'Do the same people inhabit England', exclaimed Evelyn, 'that were in it ten years ago?' He came with promises of pardon and oblivion for all but one group only, the regicides and those few individuals whom he considered 'too dangerous to live'. The House was told that by these individuals he meant Vane, Lambert and Hesilrige. Monck's intervention, and the fact that he had been in the north in 1649, saved Hesilrige from execution: but he was sent to the Tower, where he died on 7 January, 1661. For him the story was over.

But for Portsmouth the story was only half told. By the King's return Portsmouth had been left very definitely on the wrong side of the fence. Among the supporters of Hesilrige there had been some men of conviction whose deepest political and religious allegiance was bound up with the idea of a puritan republic: these would regret the return of Charles as bitterly as Milton himself, and they would expect to suffer something for their faith. But no doubt there were many others like Tippetts or Child whose main interests were contained in their own callings, Tippetts in shipbuilding and Child in trading, who were indifferent to the actual form of government as long as it provided a settled social background and had simply backed the wrong horse in the race for power. These men would do their best to remain in office while they adjusted themselves and their town to the new conditions. During the year 1660 which saw Hesilrige's fall, Charles's triumphal re-entry, Monck's aggrandisement and the execution of Sir Henry Vane, John Tippetts peacefully continued his mayoralty, to be succeeded on 29 September by another of Hesilrige's supporters, Richard Lardner. They accepted the Restoration with all proper formalities. '(On) the twelfth day of May, 1660', records the Election Book, 'King Charles the second was proclaimed king of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, etc., at Portsmouth with great solemnity'.[26] But then there was that other uncomfortable entry earlier in the book that had declared Arthur Hesilrige, Valentine Walton and Nicholas Love to be admitted burgesses on 21 December 1659. They were now most dangerous fellow-citizens. Some true Englishman, relieved to find an unimpeachable legal reason for doing what he wanted to do on political grounds, suggested a solution—in the hurry of events the three new members had not taken the usual oaths and therefore they were not really members at all. Beside their names in the Election Book were inscribed the words 'to be expunged out of book', while an explanatory note in the margin added, 'These three were not sworn'.[27] Thus, relying on Charles's promise of forgiveness for all but the regicides, the ruling oligarchy felt its position reasonably secure, and even ventured to admit Nicholas Hedger, a promising citizen whose opinions were certainly not those of the Court, as alderman in June 1661.

Nevertheless the climate of the times was such that they felt obliged to admit also some of the long proscribed citizens to office. Anthony Haberley's name quietly reappeared at the head of the burgess list on 27 April 1660 and by September he had regained his aldermanry. Benjamin Johnson, storekeeper at the dockyard, was admitted to membership on 24 October 1661. Thomas Butteres was made chamberlain on 17 September 1660. All these men were members of the 'loyalist' party, as were also some—William Michell, John Timbrell, John Comfort and Hugh Salesbury—who had retained their places during the Hesilrige episode. Timbrell succeeded Lardner as mayor in September 1661 and on 14 May 1662 helped to receive Catherine of Braganza 'with a present and speech'. There are also indications of clashes and a swing of opinions within the aldermanic body. On 17 September 1660 a dispute arose about the legality of Samuel Biggs's election as alderman; Tippetts, Child, Granger, Lardner and Tawke averring that he was legally chosen and sworn, while Michell, Timbrell, Holt, Comfort and Haberley dissented.[28] A year later on 26 October 1661 the whole company of aldermen with three exceptions voted that since Mr. Samuel Biggs 'was neither legally chosen nor legally

(The tracing from which this map was made is not precise and has been changed to fit the format of Robert East's *Records of the Corporation* (1st Edn. 1884; 2nd Edn. 1891), but it is based on earlier materials.)



Map of 1627 showing Portsmouth Haven, Portsea Island and the adjoining country. Add MSS 16.371a in the British Mu

eum.

sworn . . . his name should be put out of the book as an alderman and Mr. Henry Perin chosen in his place'. The three exceptions, Lardner, Granger and Tawke, walked out of the room. They may be taken as the diehards. Others, like Tippetts and Child, must have voted for Biggs in 1660 and against him in 1661. It is not for us to judge them. Many men must have felt like a governor of Cardiff who once wrote to Hesilrige 'I am left in a mist in these turning times'. Other signs of changing opinion may be seen. One of them affected a very famous personage, no other than Samuel Pepys.[29] When Pepys came down to Portsmouth in May 1661 and lay at the Red Lion ('and merry we were, but troubled to have no better lodging'), he heard that it was 'in some men's thoughts to have got me made free of the town, but the Mayor was, it seems, unwilling, and so they did not do it'. This mayor was Lardner, to whom a member of the new regime might be unpopular. But on Pepys's second visit in April 1662, when Timbrell was mayor, it was a different story. Pepys visited Timbrell, who showed him the silver saltcellar[30] prepared as the borough's gift to the Queen, and after dinner, as Pepys relates, 'Mr. Stephenson (probably St. John Steventon; there was no burgess at the time called Stephenson) comes to tell me that the mayor and burgesses did desire my acceptance of a burgess-ship and were ready at the Mayor's to make me one'. So off Pepys went, and his account of the proceedings shows the routine for admission to the society—'they did with much civility give me my oath and after the oath did by custom shake me all by the hand'. Pepys showed that he also well understood the correct formula: he completed the rites by taking the party to a tavern and standing drinks all round. Incidentally, since his admission 'cost me a piece in gold to the Town Clerk and 10s to the bailiffs and spent 5s', he had not really been admitted on much cheaper terms than those burgesses who paid a fine for admission. Pepys was only a minor example of the group of great men and officials connected with the court and navy who became burgesses between 1660 and 1662—Prince Rupert, for example, the earl of Manchester, Sir George Carteret and a whole bevy of Berkeleys. On 23 October 1661 came the supreme honour when 'his royal highness James duke of York and Albany was pleased to accept of a burgess-ship of the corporation'. The parliamentary representation of Portsmouth also underwent changes. John Child[31] disappeared and Richard Norton was chosen, to be succeeded by Sir George Carteret. In 1660 Richard Norton became governor of Portsmouth in place of Nathaniel

Whetham, and in 1661 he was followed by the duke of York himself, with Sir William Berkeley as lieutenant-governor. Even the poorest and most obscure anti-royalist was in danger after Charles's return, if he had been indiscreet. On 30 May 1660 the examination of John Shore, seaman—taken, ironically enough, before Tippetts as mayor—deposed that 'two or three days after Sir Arthur Hesilrige and the other gentlemen came into Portsmouth, being in December past, he, this deponant, was at the house of William White of Portsmouth, victualler, and that this deponant heard the said White say, that rather than that the (erased) a king should come in, he would fight up to the knees in blood'. White was committed to trial 'for speaking scandalous words concerning his Majesty'.[32]

Charles II did not desire a strict investigation of men's doings in the past. He was well aware that a substantial proportion of his subjects deplored his return, and he had no desire to drive them into action. His easy temper well accorded with this sensible and even generous approach to the restoration settlement. On the other hand, he did desire an increase of his personal power, and was prepared to use the royalist reaction to secure it. The elections of 1661 returned the famous Cavalier Parliament, avid for revenge, which passed a series of acts strengthening the authority of church and King. The Corporation Act of 1661 was to furnish the means by which the local opponents of Hesilrige got rid of his supporters. The most famous clauses of the act were those confining municipal office to such men as would take the Anglican sacraments, subscribe to the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and publicly declare both that 'it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms against the King' and that 'there lies no obligation upon me or any other person from the oath commonly called the Solemn League and Covenant, and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath'. Failure to make these subscriptions automatically removed men from office 'as if the said respective persons so refusing were naturally dead'. But the act had in reserve more searching tests than these; and in fact the Crown had, throughout the passing of the bill through Parliament, extended to the utmost its arbitrary powers. The act was framed with the declared intention 'that the succession in such corporations may be most probably perpetuated in the hands of persons well affected to his Majesty and the established government'. Commissioners under the Great Seal of England were appointed by the Crown to enforce execution of the act in every place, and these commissioners or any five of them had power to remove men from office at their discretion, even if these persons had complied with all the conditions, and to fill their places with others 'as if they had been duly elected and chosen according to the charters and former usages of the said respective cities'. It was to be under these clauses that some Portsmouth citizens were to feel the full effect of having supported Hesilrige.[33]

In the late summer of 1662 five commissioners settled themselves at the King's Arms (not the Red Lion!) with the purpose of discovering who were fit 'to be intrusted for the carrying on of his Majesty's service and interest in the corporation of Portsmouth', and who should be expunged because they 'have been and are disaffected to his Majesty'.[34] The commissioners held completely irresponsible arbitrary power. They took evidence only from 'persons of loyalty and true fidelity', or in other words only from members of their own party; and there was no opportunity for men whom they proscribed to bring evidence in their own behalf or to appeal against the commissioners' decision. The whole proceeding must have seemed to the old parliamentarians a glaring proof that the tyranny of the new regime was repeating the tyranny of the old.

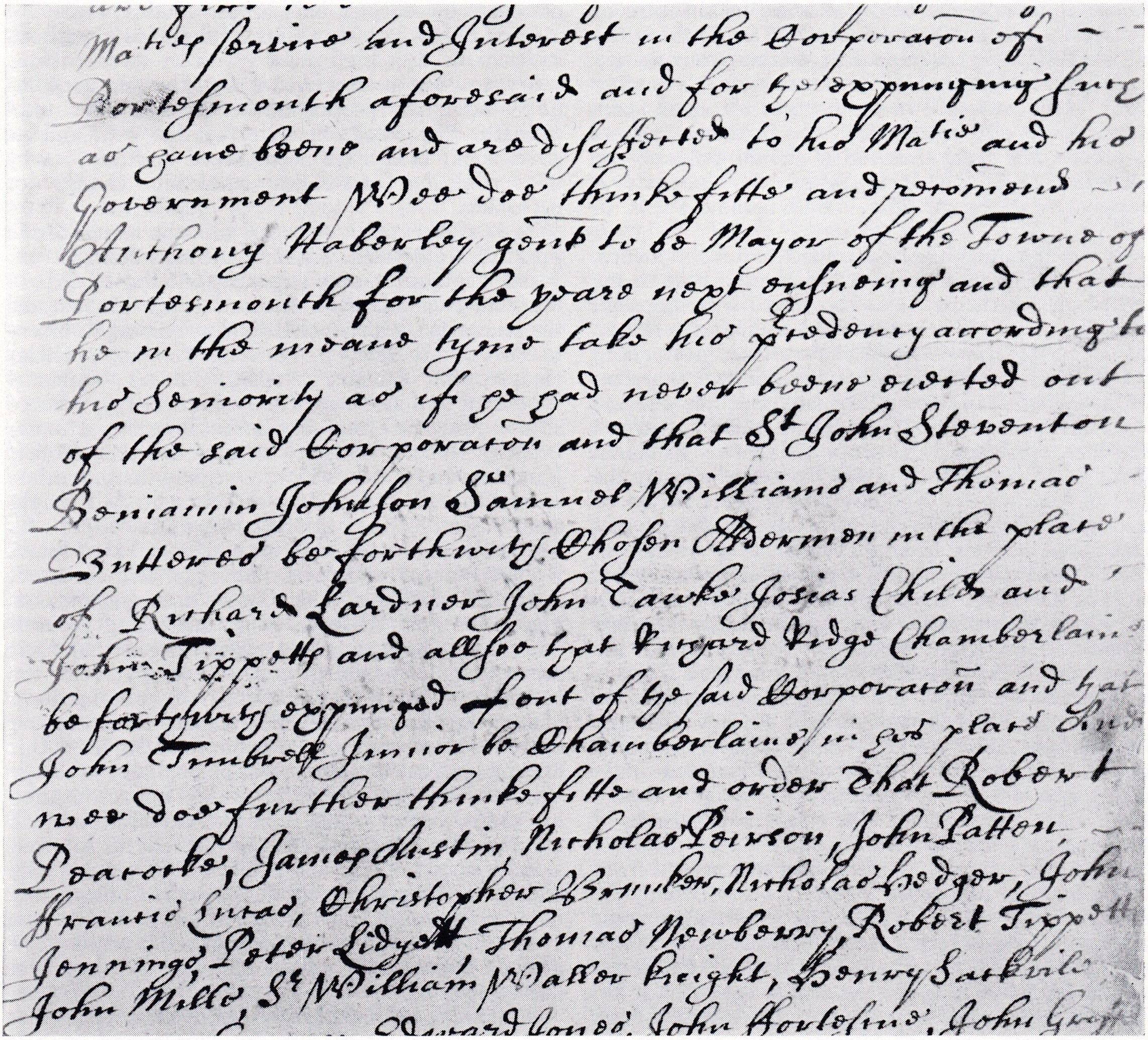
The personnel of the commission was naturally very important to the uneasy burgesses of Portsmouth. The commissioners signed their final report, but as this document, signatures and all, was copied into the election book by the clerk, they cannot be identified by handwriting. Nevertheless, since members of the local gentry usually served on commissions under the Corporation Act, the families are generally recognisable and individual names suggest themselves. They signed as J. Norton, H. Benet, Ric. Goddard, Laur. Hide and James May. A member of the house of Norton could hardly be avoided, for the great family on the hill at Southwick affected all Portsmouth's doings, but the inquisitor chosen was not the politically neutral Richard, but, probably, the royalist brother John, who fought for the King, was taken prisoner near Southampton in 1644 and has been described as 'a far honester man than his brother'. H. Benet was in all likelihood Sir Humphrey Benet, deputy lieutenant of Hampshire, whose courageous command of a troop of horse at Newbury was commended by Clarendon and who had offered at the time of the Penruddock rising to secure Portsmouth for the King. Richard Goddard had been a Portsmouth burgess since 1639, and after the Restoration became recorder and member of Parliament for Winchester. Laurence Hyde was the son of Sir Nicholas Hyde, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Clarendon's uncle. His

house at Hinton Daubenay was the local centre of operations for the escape of Charles II after the battle of Worcester. He held land near Warblington and had been admitted burgess of Portsmouth on 21 October 1661. Hyde was still on the burgess list some years later, as was also James May, who became a burgess at about the same time. May should probably be identified with the James May who inherited a sub-manor of Froyle Manor and became a J.P. in 1662.

These commissioners proceeded to take evidence, confer, and publish a report which, according to the provisions of the act, was recorded in the borough Election Book. The report makes no reference to the Hesilrige episode: nevertheless there are certain peculiarities which emphasise the political character of the Portsmouth survey. First, all the people who had been prominent in the Hesilrige affair—Richard Lardner, Josiah Child, John Tippetts, Benjamin Burgess (who was also ejected from his living by the Act of Uniformity), Thomas Brague, Peter Murford and Nathaniel Whetham—were on the list of disfranchised persons. Secondly, there is no mention in the Portsmouth report of willingness or unwillingness to take the oaths. No doubt there were many Portsmouth burgesses who were automatically expelled because conscience forbade them to accept the conditions: Francis Lucas, for instance, and Captain Thomas Newberry, both of whom were expelled, are also found on lists of persons fined for not attending church, and must therefore have refused the oaths and forfeited burgess-ship 'as if they were naturally dead'. But whereas in other towns this refusal to take the oath is often given as the cause of expulsion, in Portsmouth it was not so. In Chester, for instance, there were numerous examples of men removed from office for 'not taking the oaths and subscribing the declarations', but only one 'for sufficient causes appearing to the said commissioners', a phrase which presumably cloaks a political decision. In the Portsmouth report there is no reference to the oaths at all. No one is mentioned as having refused them, though no doubt many did. The expulsions are simply stated as orders of the commissioners. And finally the number of expulsions at Portsmouth is most remarkable, as compared with a random list of other places. In Norwich there is no record of any large-scale expulsions at all, though five aldermen had been displaced earlier as the result of a letter from the King. In Leicester there were forty expulsions: in Chester thirty-nine: in Exeter fourteen. Baxter recorded that at Kidderminster all the thirteen capital burgesses save one were turned out, and almost all the twenty-five inferior burgesses. But in Portsmouth the expulsions reached the very high order of ninety-seven persons who were 'utterly expunged out of the said corporation'—no small proportion of Portsmouth's total strength. The whole character of the town and its government must have been turned upside down by this sweeping, dramatic, wholesale change of personnel.

The list of expulsions began with the names of the proscribed aldermen, Richard Lardner, John Tawke, Josiah Child and John Tippetts, followed by that of the young chamberlain, Richard Ridge. Then came the general list, which included many names prominent in Portsmouth history—Nicholas Peirson, Nicholas Hedger, Sir William Waller, Colonel Nathaniel Whetham and his son. The puritan clergy were of course on the roll—Benjamin Burgess, Thomas Brague, Robert Bridger, William Everard, Robert Lancaster and Thomas Holt. Not only the supporters of Hesilrige, but the army officers who had fought against him (such as Major Matthew Cadwell) or who had been seized and held by him (such as Captain Robert Peacock and John Jennings) were debarred, since each side equally had shown itself anti-royalist. Fleetwood and Hesilrige, when appealing to each other to make peace, had rightly urged that their discord would 'let in the common enemy'. Now the common enemy was in possession. A host of unknown names, the names of the soldiers and innkeepers and bakers and mercers of Portsmouth, completed this formidable list. Portsmouth was in fact lucky to escape with its charter. An early version of the act inspired by the Crown had required the renewal of all charters, but the Commons had stoutly resisted 'so total an alteration of government' and charters were finally 'indemnified against forfeiture by reason of any misdeed committed before the first day of Parliament, 8 May 1661'. Portsmouth's 'misdeed', which took place in December 1659, was therefore obscured by a kindly oblivion.

While the parliamentarians, presbyterians and other puritans disappeared from the Portsmouth burgess roll, supporters of the Restoration were promoted. Anthony Haberley was to return to 'his precedency according to his Seniority as if he had never been ejected out of the Corporation', and was recommended as next year's mayor. In place of Lardner, Tawke, Child and Tippetts as aldermen, St. John Steventon, Benjamin Johnson, Samuel Williams and Thomas Butteres were appointed. Steventon was Clerk of the Cheque at the dockyard. He was in constant corres-



Extract from Portsmouth Election Book showing a part of the Commissioner's Report, 2 Sept. 1662.

pondence with the Navy Commissioners about repairs of ships, payments and accounts and must have known Pepys well by letter. Benjamin Johnson was storekeeper at the dockyard. He was a newcomer, having been admitted burgess only in October 1661, so his nomination as alderman by the commissioners and election as mayor a year afterwards is probably another indication of political alignment. Samuel Williams too was admitted only in the spring of 1660 when the cavalier party was increasing its strength in the corporation: he was perhaps not a very satisfactory colleague, for in 1669 he got into trouble for abusing the mayor, 'being very much overtaken in drink'. Thomas Butteres, however, had been a burgess for many years, and since he had served as chamberlain in 1660 he well understood corporation business. John Timbrell junior was nominated chamberlain by the commissioners in place of Richard Ridge. John Timbrell senior retained his place. Among the great men who accepted the freedom of the borough, Monck's name of course remained, now glorified by the title of duke of Albemarle.

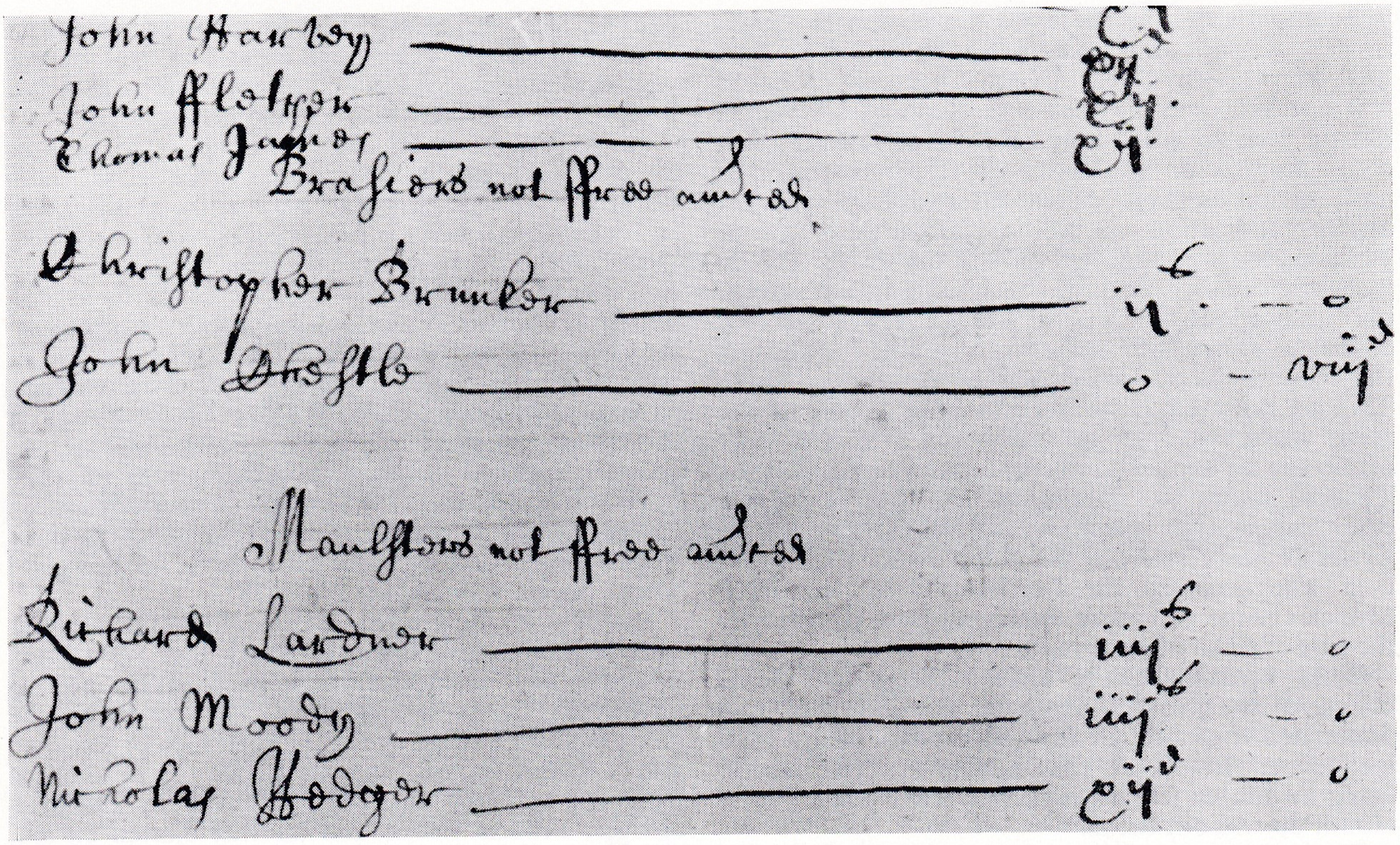
What became of the ejected burgesses? Some belonged to great Portsmouth families that had dominated the borough for generations. Many were merchants. How could they pursue their businesses, being no longer free citizens, and what could Portsmouth do without them?

The most outstanding men either left the town or found powerful patrons. Two persons stood apart from the rest in capacity—John Tippetts and Josiah Child. Tippetts's safeguard was that as master shipwright he was indispensable to the work of the dockyard at a time when the government was planning a great naval expansion. Tippetts himself probably had no strong political views. He did not hesitate to recommend a man in the days of the Commonwealth because he 'was very serviceable to Parliament during the wars'. He had not hesitated to support Hesilrige's parliamentary republic. But neither did he object to serving under Charles II. His loyalty was to a *de facto* government that would let him get on with his job. This was fully recognised by the authorities, with the result that James duke of York wrote to the secretary of state to say that he wished John Tippetts to be continued as master shipwright of the dockyard at Portsmouth and have his patent, which was granted at 12d a day.[35] With such a patron, Tippetts probably did not care very much that he had ceased to be a Portsmouth alderman. He had a handsome career before him, being made commissioner of the navy in 1668, surveyor in 1672 and Sir John Tippetts in 1675, and he lived to drink many a glass of wine with Samuel Pepys. He was even in a position to help some of his colleagues. John Jennings got his job again and presumably his wife fetched home the papers.[36]

Josiah Child moved back to London, to become director and finally governor of the East India Company. Evelyn estimated his fortune at £200,000. In 1668 he published his *Brief Observations concerning Trade and Interest of Money*, later included in the *New Discourse of Trade* in 1693, in which he argued for a freer system of trade and among other suggestions for social reform proposed a new organisation of poor relief, with much enlarged administrative units controlled by bodies called 'Fathers of the Poor'. In this there is perhaps a hint of his Portsmouth experiences. He wished to have 'no oaths or tests imposed upon the said Fathers of the Poor at their admission, to bar out our non-conformists, amongst whom there will be found some excellent instruments for this good work'. Josiah was knighted in 1678.

But few of the ejected men could build a career outside their native town, to which they were often bound by their businesses and property. At the meeting of the court leet presentment of 12 October 1663,[37] the name of John Tawke, one of the chief men of the town and a former mayor, appears under the heading of 'Mercers not free amerced', followed by Nicholas Hedger, Francis Lucas, and another ejected citizen, John Mills. The famous Richard Lardner is amerced for trading as a maltster not being free, together again with Nicholas Hedger. Nicholas Peirson and John Stone are amerced as unfree beersellers, Christopher Brunker as a brazier, Thomas Barnard as a saddler, Richard Ridge as a brewer and cooper, James Austin as a distiller and strong-water seller. All these men had been expunged from the corporation. The number is unexpectedly small: one would have expected more of the proscribed men to have their own businesses, even allowing for the numbers of the navy, garrison, dockyard and clergy on the list. Fines varied from four shillings to eightpence, which may be compared with the three shillings Francis Lucas and his brother David, Captain Thomas Newberry and William Jennings each had to pay for not coming to church. It is noteworthy that some of the leading parliamentarians—Lardner, Tawke and Hedger—paid the top figure of four shillings, but this may have been due to the size of their businesses rather than the unpopularity of their politics. Since one man often doubled two or three trades in those days, a number of people paid under more than one heading: Francis Lucas paid both as mercer and clothworker and was

Extract from Court Leet Presentment Book showing amercements on ejected burgesses continuing their businesses, 12 Oct. 1663.



further fined for selling 'small wares, drapery and apothecary's drugs' without apprenticeship, and Christopher Brunker was presented for 'using several trades to which he was not apprenticed'. Many must have paid fines for the rest of their lives; Francis Lucas was still paying as a shipwright in 1685.[38] But there is no suggestion that their disfranchisement, however much it may have galled these men politically, brought economic ruin in its train. They were, after all, in no worse position than their own wives would have been had they continued the family business after their husbands' deaths, as so many Portsmouth women did, paying the yearly amercement because they were 'not free'. All that the proscribed men had lost were the pleasures and perquisites that might arise from holding office. But these were not inconsiderable. It is recorded, for instance, that in 1652 two bushels of wheat out of every boatload shipped went to the mayor:[39] and though in this particular case the Council of State objected, the practice was doubtless not unknown. Such boons were now forfeited: for none of the older men involved in the Hesilrige affair ever held office again.

Power now fell into the hands of the loyalist group, and they hung on to office for years, handing round the places among themselves. The powers of the commissioners ran out on 25 March 1663, and from that date onwards responsibility for enforcing the Corporation Act lay with the town magistrates. Nothing could have suited the Portsmouth group better. The solid core of the party consisted of Haberley, Timbrell, Michell, Salesbury, Perin, Steventon, Johnson, Williams and Butteres. Each retained his aldermanship for years and Timbrell, Haberley, Perin, Steventon, Johnson, Williams and Salesbury succeeded one another in that order as mayor between 1661 and 1667. Under their influence the list of titled freemen in the burgess roll grew apace, and many of the officials and visitors coming down to Portsmouth in those days of naval expansion found themselves,

as Pepys had done, receiving burgess-ship in the Council chamber and shaking hands with the aldermen. Portsmouth in those days must have been crowded with notables. Pepys speaks of the 'London company' and the 'crowd of gallants' he encountered. Yet despite the triumph of the cavaliers, shades of discontent were not long in gathering. Pepys in London heard the bells ringing 'for the joy of the Queen's arrival who landed in Portsmouth last night. But', he added, 'I do not see much true joy but only an indifferent one in the hearts of the people, who are much discontented at the pride and luxury of the Court, and running in debt'. Hence the expulsions of 1662 were not the end.

Some of the great families of Portsmouth had held their ground throughout. The Holts must have felt nervous, but the only member ejected from the corporation was the parson Thomas. John, perhaps tactfully, had asked to be discharged from his aldermanry in May 1660 and Francis retained his unchallenged. Further, even if the senior member of a family had been too deeply involved to escape, a junior representative might perhaps be luckier. Richard Lardner certainly lost his aldermanship, but the name of a minor figure, John Lardner, who had been expelled in 1662, actually reappeared without comment on the burgess list in the September of 1663, together with another ejected burgess named John Wither.[40] And as time went on, the most prominent disfranchised men of the younger generation reappeared in city politics. The community of Portsmouth was probably not large enough to ostracise permanently some of its most capable members. The first to come back was Nicholas Peirson, who accepted the office of constable in October 1665,[41] perhaps because he was the only person who could keep Point in order. He was elected alderman in 1670, not without a protest about the oath, which he refused to take until a fine of £20 and a committal to the common gaol till he should pay it warned him that his fellow-citizens intended to be tough, and caused him to submit and pay up before the day was out.[42] He became mayor in 1672. Nicholas Hedger was re-elected alderman and mayor in 1673, when he took up the notable civic and parliamentary career that had been abruptly broken ten years before. Richard Ridge regained his burgess-ship and lived to be alderman in 1682 and mayor in 1684. It was only for the time being that the Corporation Act succeeded in packing the borough government for the Crown. Men of a different way of thinking could not be permanently excluded from town life, and soon some of the religious and political ideas derived from the Commonwealth period were alive again in new forms suited to a different age.

The English way of governing has many facets. Hesilrige regarded the Restoration as a tragedy, the inglorious end of the glorious good old cause. But time was to show that the return of the monarchy did not preclude the development of many of his constitutional ideas. The sovereignty of Parliament became an accomplished fact. Military dictatorship never again established itself in England. Some credit is still due to the memory of fanatical, disagreeable old Hesilrige, of whom even Ludlow, who disliked him, said 'to do him justice, I must acknowledge that I am under no manner of doubt concerning the rectitude and sincerity of his intentions. For he made it his business to prevent arbitrary power wheresoever he knew it to be affected, and to keep the sword subservient to the civil magistrate'. He had fought the civil war to prevent arbitrary power, and he fought the protectorate because it relied on military might. These aims give virtue to the rising of 1659, despite the narrowness of Hesilrige's outlook. In supporting him, Portsmouth undoubtedly believed that she was helping to defeat military autocracy. Brief and ill-fated though the episode was, it forms a chapter in the city's history that is worth remembering.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

C.S.P.D.—Calendar of State Papers Domestic.
P.C.A.—Portsmouth Corporation Archives.
P.R.S.—Portsmouth Record Series.

[1] P.C.A. CE/1/7, pp. 57–61.

[2] e.g., R. East: *Extracts from the Portsmouth Records* (1891), pp. 59 et seq.

[3] E. Calamy: *The Nonconformist's Memorial* (1662), revised edition by A. G. Matthews (1934), p. 87.

[4] P.C.A. CE/1/8, p. 1. In East's transcript (p. 169) 'elected' should read 'ejected'.

[5] P.R.S. Borough Sessions, 1653–1688, nos. 18 and 22.

[6] J. H. Hexter: *The Reign of King Pym* (1941), pp. 84–5.

[7] T. Burton: *Diary, 1656–1659*, 1828 ed., vol. III, p. 89.

[8] Clarendon: *The Life of Edward earl of Clarendon*, 1843 ed., p. 936.

[9] J. Vicars: *Jehovah Jireh* (1644), pp. 292–293.

[10] *University Queries* (1659).

[11] Burton, vol. III, p. 18.

[12] *Commons' Journal*, VII, pp. 724, 727, 730. C.S.P.D. 1659–60, pp. 8, 30.

[13] E. Ludlow: *Memoirs*, ed. C. H. Firth (1894), vol. II, p. 100.

[14] *Commons' Journal*, VII, p. 797.

[15] Ludlow, vol. II, p. 80.

[16] Events in Portsmouth in 1659 are described in a number of pamphlets: *A Letter from Portsmouth, From a Very Worthy Person there to a friend of his in London: Letter from Sir Arthur Hesilrige in Portsmouth to an hon. Member of the late Parliament: Bloody News from Portsmouth: The True Copies of several Letters from Portsmouth* (which include the correspondence between Hesilrige and Fleetwood): *Two Declarations from the Town and Garrison of Portsmouth: Mercurius Politicus*, no. 597.

[17] C.S.P.D., 1659–60, p. 532.

[18] P.C.A. CE/1/7, p. 69v.

[19] G. Davies: *The Restoration of Charles II* (1955), p. 181.

[20] Letters from M. de Bordeaux to Cardinal Mazarin giving news of the Portsmouth affair are included in M. Guizot: *Richard Cromwell* (1886), vol. II.

[21] Ludlow, vol. II, pp. 183–4.

[22] Letter to General Monck in Historical MSS Commission, *Report on Leyborne-Popham of Littlecote, Wilts*, p. 136.

[23] Rumbold to Hyde, Clarendon State Papers, vol. III, p. 633.

[24] B. Whitelocke: *Memoirs* (1732 ed.), December 1659, no. 29.

[25] ibid., December 1659, no. 22; February 1660, no. 18.

[26] P.C.A. CE/1/7, p. 74v.

[27] P.C.A. CE/1/7, p. 69v. The references which follow are taken from the same volume at the appropriate dates.

[28] East, pp. 167–8. Benjamin Burgess had a son-in-law named Biggs, and Biggs's admission to citizenship was contemporaneous with Hesilrige's. It is therefore most probable that he was a parliamentarian.

[29] S. Pepys: *Diary* (ed. Braybrook), vol. I, pp. 195, 299.

[30] A note on Portsmouth's gift to the Queen has been supplied by Mr. M. Willis-Fear: '*The Seymour salt is made of rock crystal framed in silver-gilt with crested borders consisting of fleur de lys alternating with croix patées. Standing on the top are four eagles with wings displayed and four small figures of hounds each set upon an orb. These would have been used as brackets upon which a plate holding sweetmeats would be placed after the meat course. In the base and the upper part is a band of pierced and engraved foliate ornament, of the type found on contemporary silver watch cases. Applied to the silver parts of the salt are a large number of cherubs' heads with wings displayed, and around the body in front of the rock-crystal panels are two figures of St. Michael and two groups representing Abraham's Sacrifice, set alternately. The maker may perhaps have made use of models already available in his shop in the decoration of this salt, which accounts for its very rich appearance. There are no marks on the salt, but it was made in or before 1662. When Queen Catherine returned to Portugal on 30 March 1692 she appears not to have taken the salt with her, as such pieces were not in vogue there. It passed into the possession of Sir Thomas Seymour, who in 1693 was excused from serving as Touchwarden and all other offices in exchange for presenting the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths with "a large silver-gilt Salt with a Christall body of a considerable value according to his voluntary proposall". It is regarded as being one of the finest specimens surviving of the silversmith's craft from the mid 17th Century.*'

[31] The Corporation Rent Rolls, CF5/1-6 and CF7/1 show him as holding property in Portsmouth from 1666 to 1709.

[32] P.C.A. 22A/1/7.

[33] For the general effects of the Corporation Act see J. H. Sacret: 'The Restoration Government and Municipal Corporations', in *English Historical Review*, XLV, April 1930, p. 232.

[34] P.C.A. CE/1/8, p. 1. The report has been printed by East (p. 169) with a few names omitted.

[35] C.S.P.D. 1660–1, pp. 133, 209.

[36] C.S.P.D. 1659–60, p. 544.

[37] P.C.A. L2/5.

[38] East, p. 81.

[39] C.S.P.D. 1651–2, p. 153.

[40] P.C.A. CE/1/8, p. 9.

[41] P.C.A. CE/1/8, p. 26.

[42] East, p. 174.

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